

I was sure a whistle would blow and they would move in. Should I fall on the road and stay? Would tear gas cause us to run? What could I do to protect Barbara Cort and the other women and girls? I didn't have any answers.

Along the line in front of us the people stood up and we stood too. The march organizers came back along the line. "We're turning around" was their message. "That's all we know, we're turning around." They, and many in the march, were members of SNEC. They had left no doubt during the day that they wanted to go on to Montgomery.

Here was the discipline of the march—no one questioned the decision. Rev. Martin Luther King said turn around, and we would turn around. The line moved down toward the intersection made the turn, and started back up over the bridge.

Before we thought we had read hatred in the eyes of the State troopers and sheriff's deputies as they ran their hands back and forth along their smooth clubs. Now, as we turned and headed back, there was no doubt about the reality of their silent hatred. No one has told me what had happened at the head of the line, but now I knew we had won the day.

### **Actions Speak Louder**

#### **EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF**

**HON. ABRAHAM J. MULTER**

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Wednesday, March 17, 1965

Mr. MULTER. Mr. Speaker, for many weeks now we have heard continuing criticism of the administration's policy in Vietnam. There have even been those who contend that there has been no policy.

If the pundits would pay more attention to the facts and less attention to their hope that the administration would fall on its face, they would realize that not only do we have a policy, but we have a firm policy, based on action and not words.

One of the best statements of that policy was made by the eminent columnist, Roscoe Drummond, in an article which appeared in the March 14, 1965, edition of the New York Herald Tribune. I commend it to the attention of our colleagues:

**ACTIONS SPEAK LOUDER**  
(By Roscoe Drummond)

WASHINGTON.—Every once in a while somebody wrings his hands and pleads that President Johnson speak out on Vietnam. He is.

He is telling exactly what we are doing and why.

On the premise that actions speak louder than words, the President is properly letting events tell their own story to the American people and deliver their own message to the aggressor.

These actions are telling more than all the set speeches could tell.

Right now it is actions, not words, which are most needed.

That's what we are getting. And from every action the United States has taken in the last 6 weeks President Johnson's keep-up-the-pressure, no-yield policy emerges crystal clear.

The crystal clear military policy is: there will be an ascending scale of air attacks

deeper into North Vietnam until Hanoi calls off the aggression. This decision has been firmly made. Its execution is its best announcement.

The crystal clear diplomatic policy is: the United States is prepared to go to the conference table the minute the Communists cease and desist. There will be no negotiations as long as the aggression continues. There will be no unwillingness to negotiate the minute the aggression is ended.

The crystal clear political policy is: we seek no territory, no bases, no permanent military establishment in South Vietnam. But we know from experience that a paper agreement guaranteeing the independence of South Vietnam is not self-enforcing. Such an agreement was signed in 1954—and torn up by North Vietnam. An American presence in southeast Asia will be maintained so that the United States can join in guarding against future aggression.

Because this no-yield U.S. policy was slow in coming, it is understandable that many Americans—and the Asian Communists, too—were uncertain that the President really meant it.

The President has made his decision—to raise the controlled military pressure on North Vietnam steadily until it achieves its end. This policy is visible in Vietnam—North and South. There can be no turning back. It is visible in the air raids over North Vietnam—and there will be more. It is visible in related actions: the deployment of 3,500 marines, the very elite of U.S. fighting forces; more air raids on Communist infiltration lines in Laos; enlarging the 7th Fleet and strengthening U.S. naval patrols against North Vietnamese gun-running; notice to Peiping that there will be no "privileged sanctuary" if Red Chinese forces join the aggression.

These measures have long been a part of Washington planning. They were delayed because of the exigencies of the presidential election. They were delayed because some high officials were fearful that mounting military pressure against North Vietnam would massively alienate world opinion and would throw Red China and the Soviet Union back into each other's arms.

It has done neither.

There are, however, two immediate uncertainties.

The rate of the infiltration by North Vietnamese guerrilla forces is still going up. This means that the balance of forces on the ground is more adverse to the South Vietnamese than it has ever been.

So far the mounting military pressure against North Vietnam has yielded no sign from Hanoi that it has any intention to end the aggression. Far more pressure will be needed. Whether the timetable for acceleration is fast enough remains to be seen.

But purpose and policy are now clear beyond all doubt.

### **Mrs. Harold Ickes' Account of Freedom March in Selma**

#### **EXTENSION OF REMARKS OF**

**HON. HENRY S. REUSS**

OF WISCONSIN

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Monday, March 1, 1965

Mr. REUSS. Mr. Speaker, Mrs. Jane Ickes, the widow of former Secretary of the Interior Harold Ickes, has written a particularly sensitive and moving article on one of the recent civil rights marches in Selma, Ala., in which she

participated. Her account, which I commend to the House, follows:

[From the Milwaukee Journal, Mar. 14, 1965]

**MRS. ICKES: CRUSADER IN SELMA**

(EDITOR'S NOTE.—The author, Mrs. Jane Ickes, is the widow of Harold Ickes, who held the post of Secretary of the Interior longer than anyone in history (1933 to 1946). She is the former Jane Dahlgren of Milwaukee. The civil rights march she describes took place Tuesday.)

SELMA, ALA.—I also went to Selma, Ala., Why? I had to, frightened as I was. Last summer, as he was departing for Mississippi, my son said: "Ma, there has been too much talking about civil rights and too little doing." So, I could do no less than to associate myself with those men and women distinguished by their courage, who journeyed from all over the United States to Selma. I went to Selma with Mrs. Paul Douglas, wife of the senior Senator from Illinois and herself a former congresswoman, and Mrs. Charles Tobey, whose late husband was a senator from New Hampshire. Mrs. Tobey's daughter, Dr. Belinda Straight (Mrs. Michael Straight) had preceded us to Selma to care for those who had been beaten, gassed, ridden down during the Sunday march.

Selma is a small, unpretentious agricultural community. We easily found the large church where Negroes were meeting: The streets, heavily policed, were lined for blocks with cars.

We went to a small house at the side of the church, a sort of rectory. Some of the Negro leadership was there, a number of Selma and out of State clergymen, reporters. We were welcomed cordially. There was tension, of course; but no fear or bitterness, only quiet determination.

#### **CROWD TOLD NOT TO PANIC**

The next day, we went to the large church where we remained until the line of march formed, shortly after 2 p.m. The vast crowd, mostly Negro, interspersed with white clergymen and those few others of us—jammed the church and spilled out onto the street.

When we arrived, two very young men—seasoned veterans of the Sunday march—were instructing the crowd as to how to protect themselves from the blinding tear gas, how to crouch and cover the head from the blows from the billy clubs, and, no matter what: "Don't break, run, and panic."

Soon, the Negro leadership began to speak—the local preachers, members of King's staff, representatives of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Two themes were repeated over and over again:

"Millions, munitions, men to protect the South Vietnamese; nothing to protect us as, peacefully, we attempt to exercise our constitutional right to assemble and petition for redress of grievances."

"The white man can't know how we feel. He can't know what it is like to wake up every morning and wonder: What will they do to me today?"

#### **WHITE MINISTERS SPEAK**

A number of white ministers, a superb group of men, spoke briefly. One, especially, tore at one's heart: Tall, thin, blond, bespectacled. He said, in effect: "I can no longer regard myself as a follower of Christ and remain silent." As we turned away, someone told me that his was a Birmingham congregation. That is the stuff of saints and martyrs.

At last, there was bustling and calling out in the wings; cameramen and reporters shoved themselves through ranks of standing people. King had come. Everyone stood, some of us on the pews. In the excitement, I cannot remember whether we called out or clapped—probably both.

"Fellow clergymen, brothers, sisters. . . . We have the right to walk the highways.

A1244

## CONGRESSIONAL RECORD — APPENDIX

March 17, 1965

We have the right to walk to Montgomery, if our feet will take us there. I would rather die on the highways of Alabama than make a butchery of my conscience. William Cullen Bryant is right: "Truth pressed to earth shall rise again." The Bible is right: "Ye shall reap what ye shall sow."

"As long as one black man is in bondage, no white man can be free."

And then we marched—the papers say, 2,000 strong—young and old, Negro and white, Christian and Jew, to say that this injustice must end. Down to the main street to the bloody bridge we walked, four abreast, at the left side of the road. We three were toward the rear. As we rounded one corner, we could see the long line marching up and across the bridge—across the bloody bridge, bloodlessly.

## OFFICERS' OMINOUSLY SILENT

The white business community watched silently from their shops. Heavily armed police, troopers, possemen lined the streets in massive, unbelievable concentration. They were silent too, ominously so, it seemed. At the bridge, I and some others stepped out of line. I felt, rightly or wrongly, that this Federal court order should be heeded. The line went on to confront the solid wall of State troopers where the marchers knelt in prayer and then turned back.

Again, I felt, King had decided rightly. He is a leader of great stature; a man of tempered wisdom and serene courage. His people and America—are fortunate to have him.

Let us northerners not be complacent. We have not been birthmarked by prejudice, perhaps; yet, prejudiced many of us are. The sickness of hate, spawned by fear, invades the Nation. In our Southland, decent people are in thrall to terror. Those of great courage who have already spoken must not remain lonely beleaguered bastions, their careers—indeed, possibly even their lives—in jeopardy. The social climate will change profoundly only when this miasma of evil is dispelled, when the moderates can move.

I am American to the bone marrow and proud of it. I want to be proud—always.

## Selma, U.S.A.

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. ALEXANDER PIRNIE

OF NEW YORK

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1965

Mr. PIRNIE. Mr. Speaker, in my home city of Utica, N.Y., a prayer rally was held last Sunday, sponsored by the Inter-Religious Commission on Religion and Race of the Greater Utica Area. Several thousand persons gathered quietly and reverently in a public square to pledge their devotion to the cause of freedom. Their assembly was prompted by the tragedy of Selma but the purpose was really an appeal to the conscience of the community. The principal speaker was Rev. John J. Stack, the Catholic chaplain of Utica State Hospital. His words, delivered with dignity and feeling, left a great impact upon the crowd. He sought not to influence, but to inspire, not to breed hate, but to create sympathetic understanding. I am privileged to share his remarks with you:

"He couldn't stay home and do nothing." This proud epithet was spoken by the grieving widow of the Reverend James J. Beeb,

Unitarian minister of Boston, who marched the last mile in Selma, Ala., Thursday night.

Today, we have taken together the first step of that long mile. We have marched here because we are in sympathy with Selma. We have rallied here, because we are brothers and call one God our Father. We have come together, here, because we couldn't stay home and do nothing.

Selma is an appeal to the conscience of America, and the response we make will determine the shape of America for our generation and generations to come. We must do more than march and pray. For Selma, Ala., and Selma anyplace, U.S.A., must be guaranteed the constitutional rights of peaceful assembly and petition, the full implementation of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the liberalization of voting registration laws. Anything less is a mockery of the America we love. Anything less is a danger to you and to me. For if one group of our citizens can be denied their rights, then who is to say that we will not be next.

President Johnson will ask, tomorrow, for new voting rights legislation designed to provide a simple and uniform voting standard for all our States and for Federal registrars where such standards are not applied equally to all citizens.

This is a large step forward and taken in a way that is fruitful and lasting. For we must never forget that ours is a nation under law and the due process of law must prevail in establishing, amending, and repealing the laws by which we live.

The men who represent us in Congress are enlightened men, but they cannot go it alone. They need our support and approval. One well-reasoned letter to Representative PIRNIE, to Senator JAVITS and Senator KENNEDY is worth 1,000 unheard protests. In Washington, I will tell these good men of your concern and of your presence here today. I will tell them that we want voting legislation, that we want a strong and liberal bill, and that we want it now.

But you must write so our Inter-Religious Commission does not stand alone. You must write because Selma cannot stand alone, you must write to remind one and all that freedom under law must return to Selma, U.S.A., now.

Police-state tactics must end and the state of siege must be lifted. The march must go on. God grant that the good people of that community find strength through us and through others who march and pray with them today to bring this American tragedy to an end. God forbid that an army of occupation will be needed in Selma now or ever. But if so, let it be sent—and may God help us all.

Selma is an appeal to the conscience of America and the response we make will determine the shape of the Utica area for generations to come. We must do more than march and pray. In Selma there is confrontation, but in Utica there is hardly heard a whisper of communication. In Selma the vote is the thing, but in the Utica area too few ever ask, "What is the matter? What troubles your heart?"

If you dare ask, you will find dissatisfaction with the degree of progress which has been ours in the vital areas of race relations, housing and education, job opportunity, and community cooperation. No one group, no one people has the total answer, but when joined together this community can work toward finding the answers.

Your Inter-Religious Commission on Religion and Race offers Operation Brotherhood as a step forward in this direction and is inviting 5 to 10 delegates from each religious congregation of greater Utica to participate in a "training-for-action program."

But this is only one step and new and bolder dimensions in human understanding must be explored. For in a community where religion is faithful to its trust and

people are true to God, there is no problem of race, but in a community where racial tensions exists, then religion has not completed its mission and people have failed their God.

This mission of our churches must be completed and this failure of our people must be corrected. A broader dialog among the faith groups of our community must be established if we are ever to get off center and move our community forward. We have waited too long now, but the time is not too late. So let us begin.

Yes, Selma is an appeal to the conscience of America. For in Selma are the clasped hands of brotherhood, the marching feet of the Saints, and the echoing of the chant over and over again, "We shall overcome, we shall overcome. We shall overcome someday soon," the clenched fists of hate, the tight ranks of brute force, the weapons of the police state. Deep in my heart I do believe, we shall overcome someday soon."

There are prophets abroad in Selma. Are there any left in Utica, any of whom it will be written, "He couldn't stay home and do nothing?"

## National Wildlife Week

## EXTENSION OF REMARKS

OF

## HON. CHARLES McC. MATHIAS, JR.

OF MARYLAND

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

Tuesday, March 16, 1965

Mr. MATHIAS. Mr. Speaker, this week, March 14-20 is National Wildlife Week, an annual project of the National Wildlife Federation to focus attention on the broad and pressing conservation problems confronting this country.

Each year since 1938 National Wildlife Week has brought to the attention of the American people many important conservation problems, including the plight of endangered species of wildlife, the importance of conservation education, the wise use of our soils, waters, and woodlots, the dangers of chemical poisons, and the need for outdoor recreation for the future.

This year the federation has chosen pollution as the theme for this week with the slogan "Fight Dirty Water." Certainly this is a subject of vital interest and importance to every one of us. With the increasing demand for fresh water, we will need to reuse our water six times by 1980. In just 15 years it is estimated that America will need 600 billion gallons of water each day and by the year 2000 we will need a trillion gallons daily. Unless we can find a cheap way to convert salt water to fresh, hydrologists tell us that our maximum fresh water supply will be only 650 billion gallons a day. This is why water pollution control is one of the most important conservation programs in America today, and why we should all put the National Wildlife Federation's slogan of "Fight Dirty Water" into practice. Wastes from our homes, factories, farms, boats, and numerous other sources are reducing our supplies of usable water. Our city and industrial water-treatment plants must be improved. We need more research to discover better methods of treating water so it can be reused again and again to meet our growing needs. We must seek